1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE I

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a. BUKA PASSAGE

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b. BEACH AT TARONGEN

[facing p.2]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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much laughter. He was quite courteous to me when I visited him, but difficult to engage in conversation, and very chary of his words.

Every hamlet contains one or more huts set apart for the exclusive use of the men and boys (*tobdr*). In the Bougainville villages these must be used by the boys wearing the *upi* (headgear indicating that they have not finished their puberty ceremonies, see Ch. VI), who are prohibited from entering any hut occupied by a woman. In Buka, where the boys do not wear the *upi*, their segregation is less rigid, but they may sleep in the 'men's house' if they wish. In both districts unattached men usually sleep there, and male guests from other villages are accommodated there if their visit extends overnight. The men say that this is a good idea because it prevents the visitors from meddling with the village women. These huts do not differ in any respect from the others (see Pl. 30 *b*). They vary in size according to the number of people likely to use them. There seems to be no fixed situation assigned to them in relation to the other huts of the village. In some hamlets they stand in line with the others, in some they are off to one side a little. In other places they occupy part of the ground in front of the line, if this can be arranged without encroaching too much upon the space needed for dancing. Any hut occupied by a man living alone, e.g. an old widower, may be used to house some of the boys if occasion requires. Where the *tobār* is in the middle of the village, it serves as a gathering-place for the men in their idle moments. Where it stands apart, the men tend to congregate in the front portion of the hut belonging to the *tunuun* (chief), which has a kind of porch attached to it.

Most villages are fenced except where they face the shore. In the beach villages the fence is made of stones and chunks of coral rock, in the cliff villages of saplings put in green and left to grow. It does not seem to be a survival of an old stockade, but a recent innovation, erected at the instance of the Government with the idea of keeping the pigs away from the dwellings, but as it is always full of gaps, either due to neglect or left intentionally to facilitate entrance and exit, in most cases it fails to function. On the outskirts are planted banana, bread-fruit, and other useful trees. Coco-nuts are not liked in close proximity to the huts, as the heavy nuts are apt to do damage in falling. At some place convenient for launching, there will be one or more sheds for

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343 keeping plank canoes (*mon*). Dug-outs are usually left on the
501 beach, care being taken to draw them up above high-water mark.

514 No special areas are set apart for latrines. People go into the bush, as a rule not very far away, the women keeping to the area behind their own quarters at the back of the line of huts. In the case of a shore village, the men and boys wander along the beach.

364 Some attempt is made—rather spasmodically—to keep the village
412 clean, each woman sweeping the area round her own hut, with a broom made of bundles of the midribs of coco-nut palm leaves, tied at one end, without a handle. One man at Kurtatchi, more inventive than the others, made a rough wooden shovel, with handle all in one piece, with which to remove pigs' dung. Different villages vary very greatly in the extent to which they are swept and cared for, and as dogs and pigs wander round freely, while everybody constantly flings down areca-nut husks, bits of coco-nut, and miscellaneous oddments, even a short period of neglect suffices to give the village a very unkempt appearance.

342 *Huts*. At Petats, and a few other villages, under the tuition of
[177] the Missions, the natives now build themselves houses raised on piles, with plank walls and high-pitched roofs (see Pl. 3 *b*). But in most places, especially in Bougainville, the native type of hut still predominates, built on the bare earth, thatched with sago-palm leaves in the shape of a broad gothic arch, with the roof almost touching the ground on both sides. They are all exactly alike; their appearance can be seen from the photographs. There are no windows. At each end is a very small opening (a typical one measured 21 × 16 in.), serving as entrance and exit, closed by having planks set across it at night or when the hut is left empty.

[439] At the present time a few natives have plank doors swung on hinges and perhaps fastened with a bolt bought at the Chinese stores. The doors are raised about 3 ft. from the ground-level, and in front of each is a sort of shelf of split areca-palm trunks, 2 or 3 ft. in width, which serves as a sitting platform or verandah, as well as

342 an aid to scrambling in and out. The end of the hut, facing the
562 dancing space, with its entrance and verandah, is called *tagoan*,
784 and is reserved for the men, women being allowed to use it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's place is at the back, called *babots*, including not only the back 'verandah' but all that portion of ground which adjoins the back of the huts, irregular in its outline because the larger huts project into it farther than the

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PLATE 44

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FISHING KITE

[facing p. 348]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 46

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FISHING WITH NET: BRINGING IN THE CATCH. PETATS

[facing p. 356]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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X

USEFUL ARTS

SOME of the objects manufactured by these people have been already described; others which have not yet received attention are grouped together for discussion in the present chapter.

Compared with other regions of the Pacific, that portion of the north-western Solomon Islands with which I am acquainted would seem not to be a very rich area, so far as material culture is concerned. The articles made are relatively few in number, and at the present time the workmanship is on the whole rather poor, though it would appear that more care may have been taken over the making of some of these things in the past.

As usual in a primitive community, a sharp line is drawn between handicrafts proper to men and those practised by women, a line seldom if ever crossed. I take this division of labour, therefore, as the basis of classification for my descriptions. For men the principal industries are canoe-building, house-building, fire-making, and, in the olden days, the manufacture of weapons; for women, the manufacture of shell-knives, pottery, baskets, and women's hoods. Some of these crafts are practised in certain parts of the area only.

MEN'S WORK

Means of Navigation

The Raft.

From numerous discussions with the natives it seems that the original form of navigable vessel in these parts was the raft (*u aminē*, P., *penots*, K.). Rafts are still used to a limited extent for getting about on the reef when it is covered with shallow water. They consist of a small platform of logs lashed together, and are paddled with a canoe paddle.

The Dug-out Canoe (*dʒini*, P., *tʃiuiv*, K.).

For reef-fishing, and for short journeys in smooth water, a dug-out canoe with a single outrigger is used. This form of canoe seems to be confined to the north-western islands, as far as the Solomon group is concerned. Guppy (1887, p. 146) says that in the eastern

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501 islands dug-out canoes are rarely to be seen, and finds the general absence of outriggers characteristic of the group. Ivens (1927, p. 149) says that all the canoes of Mala and Ulawa are plank-built; he nowhere mentions the dug-out type.

501 177 174 The people of my area told me very emphatically, on more than one occasion, that there was a time when canoes were unknown to them, and rafts were the only means of navigation. However distant this time may be, it seems certain that the outrigger canoe is not indigenous to this region, but was introduced from elsewhere. Haddon, in an exhaustive survey of the different types of outrigger canoe found in Indonesia, concludes (1920, p. 131) that 'the present focus of outrigger canoes is in the Moluccas, and it is legitimate to suppose that from Indonesia, if not actually from the Moluccas, migrations took place at various times, each with its special type of canoe or with some partial modification'. But Friederici (1912, p. 297) thinks that the Buka people inherited this craft from former Polynesian inhabitants of the islands who were conquered and became extinct.

501 793 539 The local legend of origin runs as follows:

Origin of the Dug-out Canoe

At first all the people made rafts (*panots*); they were the first kind of canoes we people had. They all wanted to go and fish; they took their nets, they went to catch fish a long way off. Then one man, a man belonging to the Hahon people, watched them; he sat down on top of a mountain a long way off. He looked at all the people on the beach going fishing with rafts. He boasted, and said: 'Ah, what sort of canoe is this? When we sit down, the water comes up on to our skins all the time. I know how to make another kind of canoe that will hide our skins.'

Then he ran and got a stone axe, and cut down a *tʃiniv* tree, and began to make a canoe. The next day he watched till all the men had gone away to fish with their rafts; he went back to the bush and cut the canoe again, he finished it, he carried it to the village, he put it to dry in the sun. He cut sticks for the *kikilil*[1] (outrigger booms), he cut the *woga* (outrigger float) and the *ki* and the *tapala* (portions of the attachment of the outrigger float) in one day, he let them dry for one day. Then all the people got up again and went to fish with their rafts. Then the man went and fetched *lau* (binding); he let it dry a little, then he fastened it; that took him one day.

Then he got some *mōmō* (seaweed used to make white paint) and

[1] This story was obtained at Tabut; the terms are therefore in a slightly different dialect from those given on p. 367 from Kurtatchi.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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rubbed it over the canoe; when it had dried the canoe was all white. Then he took some red paint and black. He took *atʃitʃ* (putty nut), he turned the canoe over and laid it upside down. He took the mid-rib of a coco-nut palm leaf and made a straight line, he put a layer of putty first and then paint.

Then he went to the bush and got some *win* leaves (the fan-palm), plenty; he made two bundles and put them inside a bamboo without any water, then he put them on the fire and cooked them, and put them in the sun so that they dried quickly. He took some roots of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*) and boiled them in a pot with some water; then he put the *win* leaves into the water, the red water made the leaves red. Then he took some cane and fastened the red leaves (*kewara*) on to two sticks and set one up in the canoe and another on the *woga*, he decorated the canoe in this way.

He watched all the men who were going fishing with rafts. He said: 'My canoe is finished.' All the men were just going off. He said: 'You go and catch fish quickly, then come and look at my canoe.' They all came ashore, a long line of rafts. They had plenty of fish. They sat down to clean the fish. The man sat in his canoe on the top of a mountain. Now the canoe was just like a bird, it could fly. The *kewara* rustled, and all the people looked: 'Oh, oh, something is falling down from the mountain.' They all ran away into the holes in the stones in the bush, they left their rafts and their fish. The man took all the fish and put it into his canoe, and told the canoe to go back on top. Then the canoe flew back to the top of the mountain.

(*This episode is repeated three times.*)

Then the men thought: 'Some men had better watch while the rest go fishing. Some fellow is taking all our fish away from us without paying us.' Then one of them hid and watched. The canoe came down again. They all ran away. The canoe chased them. The man who was watching looked out; the canoe was resting on the sea. It took all the fish. Then all the other people came up. 'Oh, it is a real man, it is not a ghost (*urar*), it is a real canoe.' The man was sitting inside it. Then they went up to it, and were not afraid of it, and said to him: 'What is it you use to take away all our fish?' 'It is a canoe, it belongs to me.' Then they all began to pull it about. 'Don't pull my canoe about, how am I to get home? My home is on the top of the mountain.' 'No matter, we will have it, to pay for the fish that you took from us. You can make another for yourself. You show us how you make it.' Then he showed them all. They said: 'Teach us what sort of tree you make the canoe out of.' He was sorry about his trees, he did not want to show them, but he showed them a *tʃiniv* tree. They were all glad when they saw it. Then he showed them how to cut it with a stone axe. 'You cut it first

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like this, then you cut the inside, then you get another stone and work it inside so that it is smooth.'

Then he went back to his home and fetched a spear and a bow and arrows. Then he went alone to the bush. He was sorry about his trees. He said: 'Oh, why should they all know about my trees?' He took an arrow and shot it into the tree; that is why the *tʃiniv* tree has many holes in it, so that people have to stop them with putty nut. The man wanted them all to have hard work to stop them with putty. The arrow stuck in the tree, presently it fell down; since then all the *tʃiniv* trees have holes in them, and now the people have to put putty into them.

Materials. Several different varieties of tree may be used. The one universally preferred, on account of the straightness and suitable size of its trunk, and the softness of its wood, making for ease in working, is that mentioned in the legend, called, in the Petats dialect, *uertsil*, and in that of Kurtatchi *tʃiniv*; in the latter case the same word is used for the finished canoe, which at Petats is called

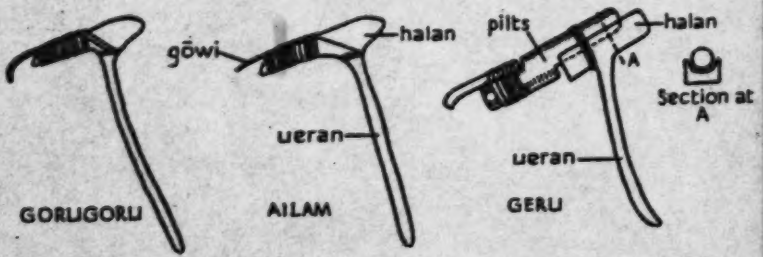

FIG. 16. Tools used in making a dug-out canoe.

dʒini. The tree is tall and slender, with rather smooth bark, which strips off in large slabs. There is a milky sap under the bark when it is first stripped, and the same milky fluid exudes from the stems of the leaves when they are broken off. The wood is white and so soft that one man can fell a *tʃiniv* tree by himself, unless it is a very large one.

Tools used. (The native terms are in the Petats dialect.) In the olden days, stone implements were used. Fire has never been employed to hollow out the log. Nowadays the work is done with metal tools obtained from traders, rehafted in the native fashion, probably much as the stone implements were hafted of old (Fig. 16). They use, besides the ordinary trade axe, which they call a tomahawk, a straight-bladed adze (*ailam*) and an adze with a curved

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PLATE 49

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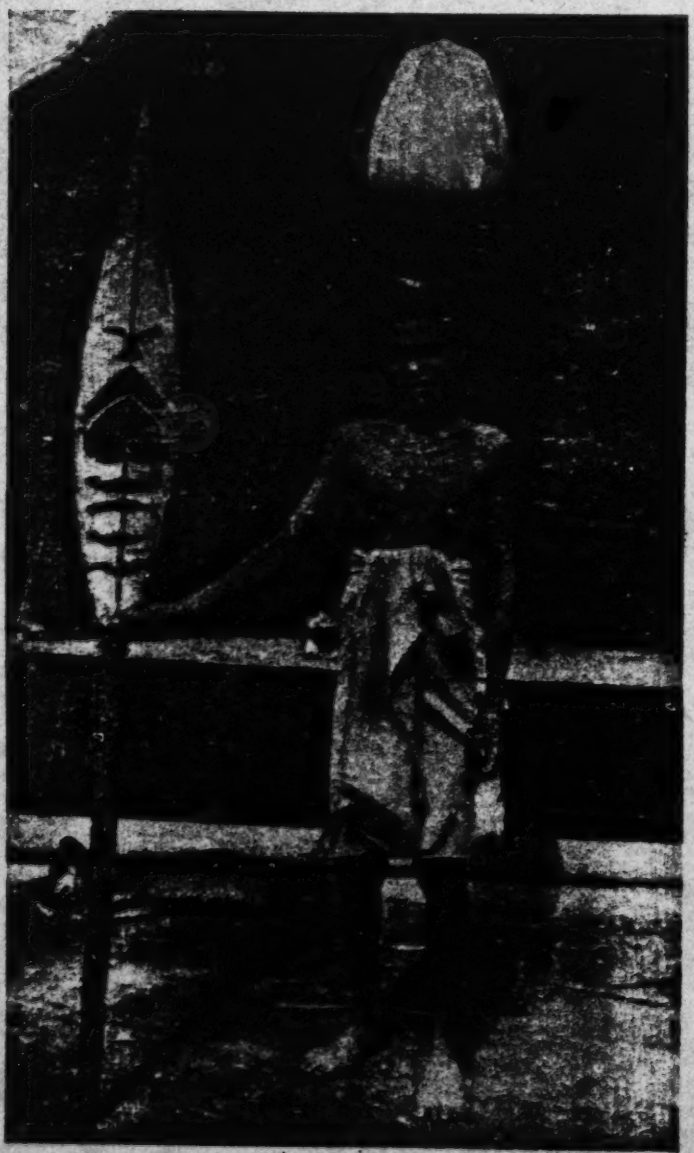

BOY WITH PADDLE
[facing p 365]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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it is collected from the reef. This seaweed (*mō*) is a calcareous alga which Dr. Haddon tells me is used for the same purpose from Matty Islands to Santa Cruz. A zigzag pattern (*būn*) may be painted in red along each side at the upper or lower margin, or both.

No ceremonies accompany the launching of a dug-out canoe.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH DUG-OUT CANOE[1]

Meaning of Term.	*Petats.*	*Kurtatchi.*
Dug-out canoe with outrigger	*dʒini*	*tʃinio*
Tree of which it is generally made	*uértsil*	*tʃinio*
Keel	*habin*	
Rim	*pónahan*	
Sides	*réhin*	
Generic term for either end (same word as for 'nose')	*ūsū*	*pipirus*
Bow	*mūs*	*matōm*
Stern	*tao*	*kápits*
Hook on either end (same word as for 'hornbill')	*póyo*	*tʃitʃio*
Slope of outline from keel to hook	*lámut*	
Outrigger booms and poles forming platform	*kikilin* (*kikilil*)	*wanér*
Sticks (3) inside canoe, to which the outrigger booms are fastened	*sókau*	*tapár*
Cross-bars bracing platform	*pinin*	*pinil*
Stick attachment joining float to booms	*ki*	*ke*
Binding fixing booms to canoe	*pilpil*	*lau*
Creeper of which this is made (*Lygodium dichotomum* Sw.)	*aisam*	*dsam*
Outrigger float	*hátal* or *halas*	*ag* or *woga*
Paddle	*hos*	*owes*

Size. Three grades are distinguished by name, the actual measurements varying slightly within each class: *dʒini kekerik*, a small canoe suitable for two people but manageable by one paddler alone; *dʒini kahal*, medium size, can be paddled by two, but will take a passenger or a third paddler if required; *dʒini dʒin*, a large canoe for four or more people; these are unusual as they are rather clumsy to manage.

My own table of measurements was unfortunately lost, but the following, kindly taken by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan, may be regarded as typical of the whole area.

[1] Some of the Petats terms have been previously recorded by Friederici (1912, p. 295).

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Measurements of Dug-out Canoes

501

Measurement.	*Small.* ft.	in.	*Medium.* ft.	in.	*Large.* ft.	in.
Max. length from end to end	19	9	23	9	24	5½
Depth, rim to ground when flat on beach	1	3½	1	4½	1	6½
Depth, rim to centre inside		10½	1	0	1	5
Width of rim		½		½		½
Width of canoe from rim to rim (inside)		6½		7½		8
Length of outrigger booms	8	3½	9	4	9	3½
Length of outrigger float	8	9	10	3	9	8
Circumference of outrigger float		9½		10½	1	0½

Further details concerning the medium-sized canoe are as follows: there are nine poles in the platform, including the two booms; they average 4 inches in circumference, and are braced by four cross-bars, each about 1 ft. 1 in. in length, projecting slightly at either side over the width of the platform, which is 12 inches. The height of the platform above the float is 10½ inches. The four stick attachments fastening the booms to the float measure 2 ft. 5 in., and extend 11 inches above the top of the platform.

483 In moving a fair-sized half-finished canoe from the bush where the initial stages of its manufacture have been carried on to the beach where the outrigger is fitted, a rope of twisted creeper will [401] be fixed to one of the ends, and a number of boys, or sometimes women, will pull it along, small logs being used as rollers. A small half-finished canoe, without outrigger, can be dragged along by one man, or carried, with some effort, on his shoulder. A man will not attempt to carry a complete outrigged canoe alone. If no help is available he holds it by the outrigger-booms near the hull and drags one end along the ground. Usually two men carry it, each taking one end, the outrigger being left free, or held by a 501 third. The outriggers are frequently damaged in use, and require replacement.

Method of use. Although both ends of the canoe are identical in shape, one end always serves as bow and the other as stern, because under ordinary circumstances the canoe is paddled on the right-hand side with the outrigger on the left. But exceptionally I have seen men poling canoes with a fish spear, in which case they have used the spear in the interval between the canoe and the outrigger float, keeping the outrigger on the right.

The paddler sits athwart the canoe, his buttocks resting on both

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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rims. It does not seem to occur to them that it would be more comfortable to put a board across to sit on. The smaller canoes are so narrow that the feet must be placed one in front of the other in the bottom because there is no room for them side by side. If there is only one paddler he sits near the stern, if a second, he occupies the bow; any others will distribute themselves in between. The shape of the paddle can be seen from the photograph (Pl. 49). It is frequently ornamented with a design either incised or cut in very low relief, picked out with paint. If there is no design, the whole paddle is often painted white by rubbing with the seaweed *mō*. In use, the ornamented sidė is directed towards the paddler. One hand is placed over the top, the other grasping the handle near the blade, as in paddling a Canadian canoe. The stroke is rather short, and a good deal quicker than that used by Canadian Indians, probably because these canoes are used on the sea. The paddle is lifted right out of the water at each stroke. The steering differs slightly from that of a Canadian canoe, owing to the outrigger.

Cargo is piled up on the platform over the hull of the canoe, which is the driest place in the boat. Anything laid in the bottom is certain to get wet, as a good deal of water is shipped even in a smooth sea. Baling is done with half a coco-nut shell (why do they always seem to bring the half with the eyehole in it?), or, nowadays, often with an old tin can. I once saw a wooden baler being used near Soraken, but I did not come across any of these in the villages with which I was acquainted. In rough water a considerable amount of skill is required to avoid swamping. Even if filled with water or overturned, the canoe is prevented from sinking by the outrigger, and if hard put to it, the occupants will jump overboard and swim, pushing the canoe along with them.

Sails are sometimes seen, but they are not of native workmanship, and their use and technique has been learned from white men. A favourite device when running before the wind is to hold up one of the large leaves of the coco-nut or the sago palm, which acts as a very efficient sail, if there is just the right amount of wind. I have never seen canoes sailed close to the wind.

The Plank Canoe.

The most elaborate of all the articles manufactured in this area is the plank canoe, called, as in all other parts of Melanesia where

4174 this form of craft is Kevonu, MON.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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this form of craft is known, *mon*. Like the dug-out, it appears not to be indigenous. The first place in this region to make such canoes seems, if the native accounts are to be trusted, to have been the Lontis coast, on the north-west of Buka, since the Petats people and the inhabitants of the villages on the coast of Bougainville all say that they learnt the art of making them from the men of Lontis. In certain portions of this latter area the natives still remain ignorant of it. The people of Tiop, an island just round the north-east corner of Bougainville, told me that they had no *mon* and did not know how to make them, and I was given to understand that the people farther down the east coast had none either, though I had no opportunity of verifying this statement personally. Friederici (1912, p. 303) saw them at Tepesoi, near Numanuma, still farther down the east coast. At the other corner of the north coast of Bougainville the people of the Saposa islands certainly do not make them, and they account for their ignorance by saying that Morena, who taught them all their crafts (see p. 39), did not teach them how to make *mon*, saying that when they wanted any they could buy them from Lontis or Hanahan, and must pay for them with spears and ceremonial currency. The people of Kurtatchi and the neighbouring villages were unanimous in saying that such boats were not made by them until after the introduction of white men's tools, which are largely employed in their manufacture. The Petats people, however, say that their fathers used to make *mon* with stone tools, and to use a sharply pointed shell for boring the necessary holes by means of which the planks are fixed together.

Friederici (1912, p. 292) derives the Buka *mon*, on the evidence of similarity of technical construction, from the *orembai* of the Moluccas. He gives a comparative list of terms for the different portions of its complex structure which, he says, is sufficient to prove with absolute certainty that the *mon*, with its name, came from the east and north coasts of Buka by way of Nissan, Anir, and Tanga to South New Mecklenburg (the present New Ireland) (pp. 290 ff.).

Material and tools. C. M. Woodford, in his account of the canoes of the British Solomon Islands (1922, p. 508), pertinently remarks: 'It is difficult to understand how the natives were able, before they became acquainted with iron tools, to adze down the canoe planks to the requisite degree of thinness and shape them with the aid only of stone implements.' But he cites the evidence of the early

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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396 TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH MAKING OF PLANK CANOE

Meaning of Term	*Kurtatchi dialect*
Canoe	*mon*
192 Bow of *mon*	*matom*
197 Stern of *mon*	*kapits*
Planks, collectively (lit. 'wood (of) *mon*')	*nō'ōn mon*
Middle plank of bottom	*watēn*
First plank on either side of it	*pāl*
Second " " " "	*bdtawa*
Third " " " " (in a large canoe)	*wagin*
All these lie nearly flat and are submerged when the canoe is in the water.	
Side plank, above the water	*warin*
Charred outside of *warin*	*rau*
Plank let in at end of *warin*, carrying ornamental pattern cut or burnt on it	*watsinan*
Plank above *watsinan*, painted white, occasionally with pattern	*tdriom*
End-keel curving up from bottom at both ends	*lámut*
Pointed boards fixed along end-keel	*bibian*
Bevelled edges of planks in which holes are bored for attaching next plank	*pits*
Ledges with holes for fixing cross-pieces at bow and stern	*bēbēkil*
Cross-pieces, served with *asam*	*bēbēkil* or *howara*
Ledges for fixing rib-frames	*kutē* or *kortēv*
Rib-frames, carved in traditional pattern	*mapō*
Holes forming integral part of pattern (lit. 'eye (of) *kutē*)	*matan kutē* or *matan kortēv*
Planks laid (without fastening) upon these to serve as seats	*poan*
To caulk the seams with 'putty nut'	*asin ta atfitf*
Platform on which *mon* is fixed during construction	*papan*
Forked sticks on which platform is raised to height convenient for working	*atōn*
Tree of which planks are made	*pánots*
Coloured grass used on end-keel for decoration	*kiwar*
Shed in which *mon* is kept when finished	*hek*

501 *Size.* The size of a *mon* is reckoned according to the number of its *poan*, i.e. seats, each accommodating two persons, except that at the stern, which is for the steersman only. The largest were those used in warfare, and now that the days of fighting are over, they have no function and have ceased to be made. These war-canoes frequently held thirty or forty men, but at the present time a *mon* with ten *poan*, holding eighteen paddlers and a steersman, is considered a large one. Most of those I saw in process of construction were for use in bonito fishing, for which three *poan* is considered the appropriate size. But each group of adjacent villages likes to have one with eight or ten *poan* at the disposal of

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 53

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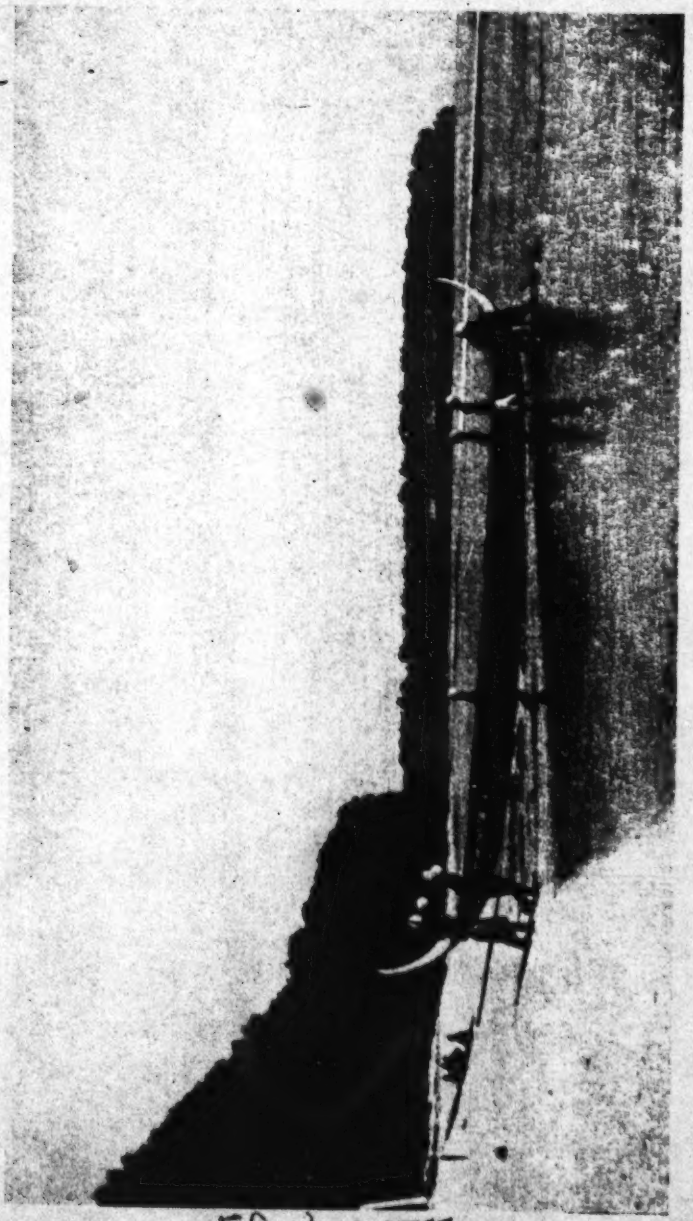

LAUNCHING *MON*

[Facing A379]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

its head men when they require to visit the Government Station at Buka Passage, as they are called upon to do on the occasions of the annual visit of the Administrator (see Pl. 1 *a*).

There is a special series of terms for designating the size of a *mon* according to the number of *poan*:

koak, small *mon* for children to play with, or large enough for one man.
poboak,[1] *mon* with two *poan*, i.e. suitable for two paddlers and a steersman. May be used for bonito fishing.
pokukan, *mon* with three *poan*, the size usual for bonito fishing.
potana, *mon* with four *poan*.
potonim, *mon* with five *poan*.
potonom, *mon* with six *poan*.
posawan, *mon* with ten *poan*, the largest now made.

Dimensions of *mon* with three *poan*

Length, 27 ft. 4 in. from bow to stern.
Width, 3 ft. at widest part, in the middle (inside edge of *warin*).
Width of planks, about ½ in.
Depth of side plank (*warin*), i.e. total height above water, 1 ft.
Length of *waisinan*, 6 ft. 9 in., of which pattern extended for 3 ft. 6 in.
Floor, 5 planks each about 6 in. wide.

Launching of mon. Canoes are never given names. When a new *mon* is put into the water for the first time, it is carried down to the shore, from the shelter where it has been during the later stages of its construction, on the shoulders of some of the men who have worked upon it. I have seen a small one (with three *poan*) carried on the shoulders of two men. A crew of men and boys man it, and it is taken out a short distance, paddled round for a while, and then brought in and put into the shed which has been prepared for it on the shore. The men concerned in the making of it then meet in the men's house and eat ceremonial pudding which the owner of the *mon* and his friends have previously prepared. If there is any over when they have all eaten as much as they wish, they send it to their womenfolk, who eat it in their own quarters. The men who have helped in the making of a *mon* receive no payment other than this feast, but when they wish to make one for themselves they would call upon the owner for his help in turn. Any man may own a *mon*; I never heard of a woman doing so. As the labour of making

[1] These words are made up of *po* (for *poan*) prefixed to the ordinary numerals.

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501 [426] a large *mon* is very great, and there is not much occasion for its use, such canoes are sometimes lent to other villages when required for a special occasion.

[343] The *mon* is used for long journeys, or for bonito fishing. It is kept in a specially built shed (*kek*) on the shore near a place convenient for launching. It is always carried down to the water, several men or boys helping on each side (Pl. 53), and must never be dragged along the ground like a dug-out, or it would suffer injury. At the edge of the reef, if the tide is low, or at the edge of the water if it is high, the canoe is laid down, and its crew watch carefully for a break in the surf-waves through which they can run with it, shouting in their excitement, and jumping in as soon as it reaches deep water. To watch for a favourable time to get through the surf is *warēn ia*, to take advantage of a pause in the rollers to launch it is *wasiaro* (*siaro* also means fair weather).

Paddling. Except for the seat at the stern, which is occupied by the steersman only, two paddlers sit on each *poan*, the width of which necessitates their sitting so close to each other that one wonders their movements are not hampered by the proximity. If the number of people available is insufficient, some of the *poan* may be occupied by one person only, in which case he paddles on alternate sides, otherwise there is no possibility of changing over, an amenity which they do not seem to miss. The paddle is the same as that used in the dug-out canoe, which has been described on p. 369. The paddle used by the steersman does not differ from that of the others. They take one strong stroke, with the paddle held upright, close to the side of the boat, alternating with a short stroke with the paddle held in a more sloping position and slightly away from it. Women paddle as well as men, and with equal facility. But there are certain *mon*, decorated with one particular design, which women may not enter (see p. 433), and they may not possess or use paddles ornamented with the conventional figure (*hokorra*) shown in Fig. 27 (p. 435). With a following wind, a large leaf may be held up to act as a sail, supplementing, but never replacing, the efforts of the paddlers.

502 484 439 *Voyages.* The people of the North Bougainville coast are not great sailors, and seldom venture on trips more than a few miles from the shore. Those of Buka, particularly the men of Lontis and Hanahan, are more venturesome, and go, on occasion, as far as the island of Nissan, a trip involving little short of a hundred

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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valued that their owners usually refused to part with them at any price. The human figures are also represented in the upright position. Very few lime-pots are carved at the present day; the men say they are too lazy. They either use the coco-nuts without carving, or substitute cigarette or tobacco tins.

The bowls of pipes are sometimes similarly carved, but most pipes have plain bowls. The patterns are often cut for amusement on the rind of fruits, such as the mango, or the soft outer sheath of the canarium almond at certain stages of growth. Some of the traditional patterns are used for many different purposes, e.g. on the sides of plank canoes (*mon*), on paddles, on the *upi* used at the *watawutʃ* ceremony, and on the outside of *mabu* and sometimes of slit-gongs. Those which were carved on the *mabu* made for me (Fig. 25) were explained thus:

the two human figures, *kokorra*, 'two little men';
the ornament on the head of one of these, *ku a poits*, the two claws of a large salt-water crab, which are used as ornaments at dances;
lower half of pattern between the *kokorra*, the lower part of *ku a poits*;
upper half, *bēbē*, name of pattern often put on paddles;
pattern running round the instrument below the figures, *pakatʃan*, name of pattern used on *mon* and on paddles;
lines running round the bottom of the instrument, *pisosku*, name of pattern, frequent on *upi*.

A variety of patterns is seen on the *watsinan* of the plank canoe (*mon*), some of which are shown in Fig. 26. For the most part they appear to be chosen at the whim of the carver from a number of generally known conventional designs. Some have a meaning, others are said to be 'just marks'. The most interesting and most important are the highly conventionalized representations of the human form found on the larger canoes. These are survivals from the time when such canoes were used in warfare, and even now the pattern has retained a certain significance. A special feast of ceremonial pudding must be held when the *watsinan* is carved. In the olden days no woman might travel in a *mon* thus decorated, but this custom is now breaking down. It may not be sold to a white man. It is still reserved for important journeys, not being used for bonito fishing or 'for play'. A *mon* thus decorated

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is seen in the photograph of Buka Passage (Pl. 1*a*); it was conveying the local headmen from Buka to meet the Governor of the Mandated Territory on the occasion of his annual visit. In the war canoes the human heads and arms (*kokorra*) were repeated along both sides. I heard of one such, with ten *poan* (seats), still in

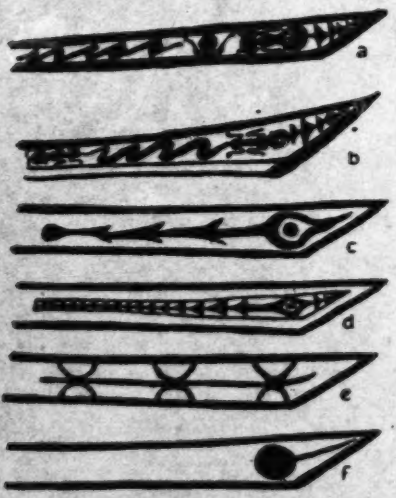

FIG. 26. Patterns on *watsinan* of *mon*.

FIG. 27. Canoe paddle with *kokorra*.

existence at Hanahan, but unfortunately I was not able to see it. On one with seven *poan* which was being built at Lemanmanu on the Lontis coast (Fig. 26*a*), the row of heads along the side was replaced by a kind of key pattern, called *dorē*; they said this was new, and was put on because the makers were 'too lazy' to carve the heads. The anthropomorphic figure was called Morokohēhōn; it was explained to me (in pidgin-English) as 'all same Father call em God'. No further information about it was forthcoming. A similar figure on a *mon* being made at Ruri (Fig. 26*b*) was called *kokorra* and described as a man. The triangular pattern to the right of the figures in both these is called *kalankatʃin*; it is very common. No explanation of the word was given; it is merely the name of the pattern. Fig. 26*c* represents a fish and 26*d* a spear. For *e* and *f* I have no interpretation. *Kokorra* figures frequently appear on paddles (Fig. 27).

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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must once have done. About 3½ feet of it remain. It is propped up against a tree; they say it used once to stand up beside it. Down one side run a series of shallow depressions, which may or may not be the work of nature. There is no sign of any incised pattern on it.

When the story of Tchinaleke (see p. 530) was told me at Kurtatchi, this stone, leaning against its *tsiniv* tree (the kind of which dug-out canoes are made) was clearly indicated as the one which represented the woman. But on arriving at the spot, I was assured by men living near by that Tchinaleke was the stone lying below at the foot of the cliff, and that this one was called Pepes, that it belonged to the olden time, and that they knew no more about it than the few details I have given above. With that I had, therefore, to be content.

Stone pillar on North Bougainville coast

About half-way between Gomen and Ruri, there is a portion of a stone pillar which must have been originally similar to those on Buka (Pl. 79 *a*). It is in the bush, not far from the top of the cliff. Only 2½ feet of it are standing; it appears to be the top section of a pillar, since its end is rounded like all the others. It is said to go down a long way into the ground. If all the men of the village tried to move it they could not. But once the Hahon, the people of the mountains, enemies of the coast people, stole it. Having succeeded in getting it out of the ground, they slung it on a pole as the natives do pigs, and a large number of them carried it. But the pole broke. They cut a thicker tree, but that broke too. Then they cut a very large tree, all the men they had could scarcely carry it, but that broke too, and at night, while they were encamped, the stone made its way back. There are two little stones beside it, rounded either by rubbing or by the action of water; I could not be sure whether they were pieces broken off the big one or not. They are called its children. Once the people of Ratsoa (a village a short way into the foot-hills) carried them away in a pack with some ceremonial currency, but when they got home and opened their pack the stones were not in it; the *urar* had brought them back to their mother. The owner of the stone was angry with the Ratsoa people, and raided the village; then he put the little stones back in their places and made a feast.

The stone is called Mubenoits. One of the men of the village—the father of one of the present inhabitants, who is now an old man

is lancet-shaped and takes up about one-half of the whole club; the greatest width of the striking end in the middle amounts to about 7 1/2 centimeters; along the [32] middle of the lancet-shaped striking end there runs a raised center rib all the way to the extreme point; as a rule the blade is provided with an engraved ornamentation on one side. The upper half comprises the shaft or the handle; it is about 4 to 4 1/2 centimeters wide and is pointed at the top. The entire handle is wrapped with strips of rattan, in such a way that each circle of red-dyed rattan (about 8 centimeters wide) is succeeded by a wrapping of yellow rattan of the same dimensions, and so on alternately all the way to the end.

Navigation

It has already been mentioned that active commerce by water goes on between the various coastal and island tribes, and that boat trips not infrequently extend to great distances. Therefore it is understandable that the Solomon Islanders expend great care in the production of their boats. For normal fishing in the immediate vicinity of the coast and on the coral reefs they use rafts and simple boats with outriggers. For longer journeys they use boats constructed carefully of boards and without outriggers.

As a rule the rafts consist of three or four tree trunks laid adjacent to each other and pointed at both ends; the individual trunks are fastened to one another by means of hardwood pegs.

Simple boats are made of a single tree trunk; they come to a point at both ends and have two or three outriggers and floats, depending on their length. On the island of Nissan these boats are especially narrow so that the hollowed-out space just suffices for placing one leg in front of the other; these Nissan boats frequently have outriggers and floats on both sides. As a rule these boats are not used for long journeys; they are used in calm weather for fishing on the high seas and for traffic in the harbors shut off by islands and reefs. These boats come in all sizes; from a few meters long and barely sufficing to carry one man, up to a length sufficient for 5 to 6 occupants. As a rule the larger ones have a platform on the outriggers that is parallel to the long axis of the boat and consisting of staves placed close together and attached to the wood of the outriggers; sometimes a

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smaller, basketlike, square container is attached above this platform. Both are used for storing all sorts of things: fish, implements, baskets of food, etc. The ornamentation of these boats is not very [529] careful; some have, on the prow as well as the stern, individual geometrical figures painted black and red, others a similarly painted figure of a bird, and still others the grotesque human figure executed in bas relief, which we find so often in the northwestern Solomon Islands and which is characteristic for this region. By far the greatest number of dugouts have no ornamentation at all. They are to be found in Nissan, on the Carteret Islands, in Buka and on the coast 501
of Bougainville--especially in the north and in the east--as well as 174
on the islands of the Bougainville Strait. Recently they have begun 177
making sails of cotton material; yet older islanders assured me repeatedly that this was an innovation that was not known in their youth. In a few places, for example Carola Harbor and the Shortland Islands, I was able to date the first appearance of sails. In the former place sails of cotton material were first introduced in 1890; in the Shortland Islands no one had sails in the year 1885, but in the year 1888 they were quite common. In their cut these sails imitate a European spar boat sail [Spriet-Bootsegel] From this it can probably be concluded that the use of sails is an innovation of most recent times and a simple imitation of European sails.

By far the greatest care is expended on the construction of the 396
large boats built of boards. Guppy gives an exhaustive description 171
of the ones from the southeastern Solomon Islands and the Shortland Islands. The big boats in Nissan, Buka, and northern Bougainville differ slightly in form from those in the Shortland Islands, although the arrangement of the boards is exactly the same as Guppy describes. The individual boards are first split with an ax from the felled trunk and planed as carefully as possible; in order [33] to make the not very hard wood more resistant, they char the sides slightly. First two long boards are attached together and form the bottom of the boat so that the joint follows the keel line. The side boards are likewise attached to these keel planks; three or four rows, and more rarely five, suffice to build up the sides. The prow and stern are constructed high and pointed from two planks which meet at a very acute angle. In the Shortland Islands as a rule they are much longer and almost vertical, and in the north more curved, but everywhere ornamented. [531]

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The ornamentation in Buka is a double one: it consists either of a row of the grotesque heads and human figures that are characteristic for this region in varying arrangements, or it is a row of reversed vees. All ornaments are executed in bas relief and painted black, red and white. In the Shortland Islands the very high prow is frequently decorated with a carved human figure; according to the statements of natives this is a personification of the tutelary deity who grants [776] auspicious sea voyages and wards off evil spirits. In Buka the prow and stern are ornamented with an approximately 40 centimeter wide fringe, which extends from the tip of the prow to the waterline. This fringe (kehakehala) consists of red-dyed dried leaf strips of a species of palm.

The joints are tightened by smearing them with the pulverized [824] nut of parinarium laurinum. In order to give the light shell greater 396 resistance and durability, wooden frames are set into the boat, which press firmly against the sides and are fastened to these at the edge. These frames (in Buka called mapou) are cut from a single piece and, corresponding to the inside shape of the boat, are almost semicircular. The two upper ends of the semicircle are connected by a straight piece of wood. From the middle of this two or three props lead to the semicircle, which is thereby given greater rigidity. Also the thwarts for the rowers serve this purpose; they are notched underneath in such a way that the notches project beyond the edges of the boat on both sides and prevent them from bending in or out. These boats vary greatly in size; there are many that comfortably carry 40 adults and in addition a considerable cargo. In the middle of the large chieftains' boats a small platform is built on which the owner stands, with bow and arrow in hand.

The rowers sit together in pairs on the thwarts and propell the 502 boat with light oars that are different in the north and the south. In 171 the Shortland Islands the oar (fase) has a wider and shorter blade than in Buka; at the upper end the handle is provided with a small crook that projects at a right angle and gives the hand a comfortable means of grasping it powerfully. These oars are very well planed, but other- 501 ● wise unornamented. In Buka the oar (hose) is equipped with a long, 171 pointed, lancet-shaped blade and this is frequently decorated in bas relief--usually with the characteristic grotesque head or human figure, sometimes with a bird or fish, and sometimes also with round figures or zigzag lines; here the handle is never provided with a crook. I would like to mention that this characteristic Buka oar is still rather common nowadays, but it is cited completely erroneously in handbooks

as well as in museums as stemming from New Mecklenburg (New Ireland). I find this statement first in the work by Schmeltz and Krause on the Godeffroy Museum (which first appeared in 1881), and although Schmeltz subsequently corrected this statement, it has nevertheless--like many another mistake--been widely circulated. The oars depicted by Schmeltz and Krause are quite characteristic for the extreme northwest of the Solomon Islands; nowhere else does one find the ornamentation represented on the oar blades, which one with justification can designate as the coat of arms of Buka and the neighboring tribes. The figure bears the name kokora.

The rowing is done at various tempos, but the oars are always placed in the water simultaneously, whether the tempo is slow or rapid. The faster the tempo, the deeper the blade of the oar is dipped and the farther the trunk of the body is bent forward; then the light boat shoots across the waves with great velocity and in an hour quite often covers ten nautical miles. A few years ago on the east coast of Buka I saw a boat that was manned by 36 rowers maintain this velocity for almost two hours; the chieftain who was standing up in the boat spurred his men on with loud cries. On the high seas, the slender vessel literally flew from one wave to the next; occasionally, when it was crossing a high wave, over one-third of the long body was hovering above the water. With a watch in my hand I [34] observed the rapidity of the oar strokes for a time and found that it was never less than 35 strokes per minute, but from time to time increased up to 60 per minute. At a normal and medium tempo the rowing is accompanied as a rule by a peculiar howling singing; at a rapid and the most rapid tempo, however, all is silent, and at most one hears from time to time the encouraging cry of the chieftain. Even the women know how to handle the oars well; they take care of the market traffic, and therefore one rather frequently sees large boats occupied only by women (with at most an old man at the ruider), who are going from the islands to the opposite mainland in order to trade fish etc. for taro and other foodstuffs.

Fishing

Fishing is a main occupation on the islands as well as on the coasts. In his book Guppy gives an exhaustive description of the fishing methods current in the Shortland Islands. They are also in use further north. As far as nets are concerned, I observed seines of great

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the house. When you want to come back, beat on the root of a tree and I shall hear you and put on my *takop*." (The *takop* is the hood worn by the women in accordance with the rule of avoidance which forbids them to see or be seen by their sons-in-law.) 539 773 [291 606]

Then she took a knife and cut a piece of her flesh and cooked it. Then she chewed areca nut and spat the juice about. When her son-in-law and his wife came back she fooled them. They asked: "Who has been chewing areca nut here?" She said: "Some people who came to bring us a pig." She gave the two of them pieces of meat. The couple ate the flesh of their relative.

They went again to work, the two of them. They talked to their child, they made him lie down in the roof under a food-basket. Tchinaleke took off her *takop*, and the child saw her bones and her flesh. He was afraid, and he urinated. It dripped down and wetted Tchinaleke's bones. She thought it was water, that the others had hidden. Her flesh gave her pain. Then the child cried out, from his place in the rafters, he was afraid of Tchinaleke, she was like a skeleton.

The man and his wife came back, they asked the child: "Didn't you see them? Didn't you see the people who brought a pig to-day?" The child said to them: "There isn't any pig. Tchinaleke is fooling you both. She cuts her flesh and cooks it, and makes you think it is pig. You are eating the flesh of Tchinaleke." Then they said to Tchinaleke: "You have been fooling us about your flesh." Tchinaleke was very angry, she chased them away, they ran away. Tchinaleke wanted to beat them. They ran away, they climbed up a *tchiniv* (tall slender tree used for making dug-out canoes, the word is also used for "canoe"). Tchinaleke went to climb up behind them, she wanted to beat them. They teased her, they said: "You climb up a *karao*." (A plant of the ficus tribe, which has runners dropping straight to the ground from the branches of trees.) [501 824]